

Interracial News Service

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RACE RELATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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(The editors of INTERRACIAL NEWS SERVICE are indebted to Dr. Darrell D. Randall, Associate Executive Director of the Department of International Affairs of the National Council of Churches, for preparing this article on a topic of increasing concern to many Americans.)

The Colored World

Two-thirds of the world's people are colored — black, brown, or yellow. Their per-capita income has averaged less than a hundred dollars per year. Their average life expectancy has been less than forty years.

As more modern health services become available for these areas of the world, their proportion may become at least three-fourths of the world's people before the end of this century.

Racial Differences and World Politics

Some people believe that differences of achievement among ethnic groups can be explained by racial differences, with the conviction that the so-called "white race" is superior to the "non-white races."

Such views are to be rejected. Nothing in this paper is to be interpreted as endorsement of such views.

Racial "superiority" views have had and continue to have an important influence on international affairs and world peace.

Discernable physical and cultural differences have been used to maintain particular social, economic, and political privileges. Members of a particular racial or ethnic group have not always held the same view regarding change. Those who are dissatisfied with their condition tend to support change. Those who fear that integration with a larger group may deprive them of their existing privileges tend to oppose change.

Most people want to be judged on his or her own individual merits and qualifications. But the process of political organization plays into the hands of those who can appeal to the emotional sentiments of large groups. Those who find a common tie in resentment against racial discrimination can be expected to use such sentiment as a lever in political organization on the local, national and international levels.

As world political decisions become influenced less by military power and more by public opinion, more influence in world affairs can be expected to be exerted by leaders supported by non-white groups since they represent such a large proportion of the world's population. Understanding of these factors and willingness or resistance to adjustments related to them can affect not only the peace within a particular area but human survival in the world.

Half of the people of the world cannot read or write. Most of these are of the non-white peoples. They are seeking to learn in this generation. As they learn of their history in increasing numbers during the next decade, we can expect a wave of indignation against those who have been known to have gained or taken advantage of their previous ignorance.

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March to Freedom

"Everybody in the world today might as well make up their minds to march with freedom or freedom is going to march over them." These were the words of a Negro minister, quoted by the New York Times as he was leading a recent demonstration in Atlanta.

Many people in different parts of the world are on the march these days. Some are celebrating recently acquired freedom from colonialism. Others are marching in public demonstrations de-

manding their freedom from colonialism or racial discrimination.

History has been filled with struggles for change. While political struggles in the past have frequently relied on forms of violence and local armed insurrections, something different is happening today. People who have never possessed the weapons for armed revolt have been discovering other forms of power.

Regimes which possess military power are finding that to use it against people who are struggling for freedom brings world-wide condemnation against those who use physical power to hold people in subjugation.

People who are struggling for freedom from colonialism or against racial discrimination are learning that they have supporters throughout the world. Such struggles are no longer isolated events. Modern communication and world-wide social concern bring encouragement and support for those who are struggling for freedom and severe criticism against those who seek to hold them back.

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Africa

Africa is in the world's headlines these days. That vast continent which is four times the size of the United States, and which until recently has been in virtually unquestioned control by white minorities is going through the most spectacular transfer of political power in world history.

Only four nations from Africa were represented in the formation of the United Nations. By 1962 there may be as many as thirty independent nations in Africa.

What impact will these African nations have in future world affairs?

What will happen in the remaining areas of Africa where the white man still hopes to remain in control?

What will happen within the new nations of Africa? Will there be reprisals against the white man who has been known as dominating African history?

What will happen to United States influence in Africa?

What will be the impact on race relations in the United States?

What will become of the Asian-African bloc in the United Nations?

What will African nations do in the future of the so-called "East-West" struggle?

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948. Few Africans at that time had a voice in the United Nations and very few had a vote in their own government. During the past ten years millions of Africans were known to have signed marks on petitions and given other forms of public expression, signifying their vote for the Declaration and asking for its implementation. It became one of the most popular features in speeches of African nationalist political leaders.

People who have not read the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recently would find it relevant to the swiftly moving events now taking place in Africa. (Leaflet copies are available from the U. N. Office of Public Information.)

America's Declaration of Independence of 1776 stated that "all men are created equal and have been endowed by their

Creator with certain unalienable rights." It would be well for U. S. citizens to read this document once a year to keep in mind the kind of concerns which influenced the establishment of our country and to be familiar with some of the basic ideas from the U. S. which are now in the minds of African national leaders.

It is commonly recognized that all people do not have "equal talents or skills." But there is a common demand being expressed by peoples around the world for equality of opportunity.

Will the peoples of the world be satisfied with equality of opportunity merely within existing national boundaries? This is a question which should be pondered seriously by people in the United States, if our people are to be prepared for the adjustments which will be required for future peace in the world.

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Universal Declaration of Human Rights for Children

The United Nations General Assembly, November 20, 1959, unanimously adopted and proclaimed the Declaration of the Rights of the Child. Seventy-eight countries were present. The Union of South Africa had abstained in the committee vote, and was reported to have been conspicuously absent for the final General Assembly vote. This Declaration set forth rights and freedoms which every child, without exception whatsoever, should enjoy. Governments and peoples everywhere were called upon to recognize these rights and freedoms and to strive for their observance. The General Assembly asked governments and non-governmental organizations to publicize as widely as possible the text of this Declaration. Since it sets forth principles which will have a significant affect on the future of race relations and international welfare, it is reproduced in full below.

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Declaration of the Rights of the Child

"PREAMBLE

"Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have, in the Charter, reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, and in the dignity and worth of the human person, and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

"Whereas the United Nations has, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status,

"Whereas the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth,

"Whereas the need for such special safeguards has been stated in the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924, and recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the statutes of specialized agencies and international organizations concerned with the welfare of children,

"Whereas mankind owes to the child the best it has to give,

"Now therefore,

"The General Assembly

"Proclaims this Declaration of the Rights of the Child to the end that he may have a happy childhood and enjoy for his own good and for the good of society the rights and freedoms herein set forth, and calls upon parents, upon men and women as individuals and upon voluntary organizations, local authorities and national governments to recognize these rights and strive for their observance by legislative and other measures progressively taken in accordance with the following principles:

"PRINCIPLE 1

"The child shall enjoy all the rights set forth in this Declaration. All children without any exception whatsoever, shall be entitled to these rights, without distinction or discrimination on account of race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, whether of himself or of his family.

"PRINCIPLE 2

"The child shall enjoy special protection, and shall be given opportunities and facilities, by law and by other means, to enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity. In the enactment of laws for this purpose

the best interests of the child shall be the paramount consideration.

"PRINCIPLE 3

"The child shall be entitled from his birth to a name and a nationality.

"PRINCIPLE 4

"The child shall enjoy the benefits of social security. He shall be entitled to grow and develop in health; to this end special care and protection shall be provided both to him and to his mother, including adequate pre-natal and post-natal care. The child shall have the right to adequate nutrition, housing, recreation and medical services.

"PRINCIPLE 5

"The child who is physically, mentally or socially handicapped shall be given the special treatment, education and care required by his particular condition.

"PRINCIPLE 6

"The child, for the full and harmonious development of his personality, needs love and understanding. He shall, wherever possible, grow up in the care and under the responsibility of his parents, and in any case in an atmosphere of affection and of moral and material security; a child of tender years shall not, save in exceptional circumstances, be separated from his mother. Society and the public authorities shall have the duty to extend particular care to children without a family and to those without adequate means of support. Payment of state and other assistance toward the maintenance of children of large families is desirable.

"PRINCIPLE 7

"The child is entitled to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the elementary stages. He shall be given an education which will promote his general culture, and enable him on a basis of equal opportunity to develop his abilities, his individual judgment, and his sense of moral and social responsibility, and to become a useful member of society.

"The best interests of the child shall be the guiding principle of those responsible for his education and guidance; that responsibility lies in the first place with his parents.

"The child shall have full opportunity for play and recreation, which should be directed to the same purposes as education; society and the public authorities shall endeavor to promote the enjoyment of this right.

"PRINCIPLE 8

"The child shall in all circumstances be among the first to receive protection and relief.

"PRINCIPLE 9

"The child shall be protected against all forms of neglect, cruelty and exploitation. He shall not be the subject of traffic, in any form.

"The child shall not be admitted to employment before an appropriate minimum age; he shall in no case be caused or permitted to engage in any occupation or employment which would prejudice his health or education, or interfere with his physical, mental or moral development.

"PRINCIPLE 10

"The child shall be protected from practices which may foster racial, religious and any other form of discrimination. He shall be brought up in a spirit of understanding, tolerance, friendship among peoples, peace and universal brotherhood and in full consciousness that his energy and talents should be devoted to the service of his fellow men."

"THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

"Considering that the Declaration of the Rights of the Child calls upon parents, upon men and women as individuals, and upon voluntary organizations, local authorities and national governments to recognize the rights set forth therein and strive for their observance,

"1. Recommends governments of member states, the specialized agencies concerned and the appropriate non-governmental organizations to publicize as widely as possible the text of this Declaration;

"2. Requests the Secretary-General to have this Declaration widely disseminated and, to that end, to use every means at his disposal to publish and distribute texts in all languages possible."

(Leaflet copies of this Declaration are available from the United Nations Office of Public Information.)

Biblical Revolutionary Standards of Judgment

The Bible, which has been translated into over a thousand languages and dialects around the world, is full of scriptural encouragement to people to condemn injustice and to struggle for change. There are wide differences of interpretation among church people of all colors about the social application of Christian teachings. However people may differ otherwise, they can be reminded that Jesus asked men to pray that God's will might be done on earth as it is in "heaven."

One of the last stories Jesus told before he was killed dealt with the conditions on which the peoples of the world would be judged as qualification for being included in "heaven." (Matthew 25:31-46).

That story said that the nations of the world would be judged on the basis of whether they were concerned about the needs of people — even for the least in the community — the needs of those who were hungry, in need of clothing, in need of health services, in need of love and understanding for those who were imprisoned and discriminated against.

These are the needs of most people of the world. These are the needs which non-white people are becoming more conscious about. It is not surprising, therefore, that people are trying to do something about putting these ideals into practice where they live on earth.

Readers of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and the recent Declaration of the Rights of the Child will find familiar standards from our Biblical heritage. "Toward a Family of Nations Under God — Agenda of Action for Peace" of a new policy statement of the National Council of Churches, adopted by the General Board, June 2, 1960.

A summary listing of the headings of proposals for action include:

"I. Our nation shares with all mankind both a common danger and an opportunity under God to define and serve the common good."

"II. The United States must persevere in the quest for enforceable agreements to eliminate weapons of death and to reduce the burden of armaments. At the same time, the need for alternatives to the use of military force requires the development of institutions for collective security and the strengthening of peaceful processes."

"III. Improvement of standards of life of our fellow-men is a privilege the United States shares, not a benefit it confers. Moral principle even more than concern for our own national welfare impels an abiding interest in our neighbors on a crowded planet. Their growth is part of our growth and their partnership for peace is essential to all security."

"IV. Promotion of human rights and fostering freedom throughout the world are duties of citizenship, as well as mandates of the Christian faith. United States leadership in support of these efforts must be renewed and invigorated."

"V. Communications of ideas, exchanges among peoples, and willingness to negotiate at all levels, assume greater urgency, the more ideas clash or political tensions mount. Communication does not imply approval, exchanges do not corrupt men of principle, and negotiation need not mean appeasement. The basic Christian concept of reconciliation must be persistently pursued."

"VI. Leadership toward world community requires justice in our own national community. Full respect for the United States rest upon our own respect for the dignity and equality of all our citizens before the law."

Among the specific concerns recommended were the following:

"For . . . practical reasons, as well as the mandates of our faith, we believe that the United States Government should renew and invigorate its leadership in the promotion of human rights. It should support the United Nations as a forum for airing grievances. The Genocide Convention, which the United States signed in 1948, should be ratified without delay. The United States should restore its leadership by supporting the Covenants of Human Rights. . . .

"We, the people of the United States, owe it to ourselves to grasp the opportunity — perhaps the last we shall be accorded in foreseeable history — to help lead mankind toward a universal dominion of justice and peace."

(The full document "Toward a Family of Nations Under

God — Agenda of Action for Peace" is available for 10¢ each and \$7.50 per 100 from The Office of Publication and Distribution, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York.)

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African Leaders and the United States

Although many of the African leaders have had their education with American missionaries and many of them have had college education and travel in the United States, it cannot be certain that they will identify themselves with the United States.

The difficulty has recently been explained by Mr. Tom Mboya of Kenya. The United States must quickly eradicate segregation and racial discrimination in all parts of the country. Otherwise, any African leader who identifies himself openly with the United States faces the possibility of being undercut by a political opponent charging him with being "soft" on American racial discrimination.

As more Africans learn to read, they will become acquainted with the history of people taken from Africa as slaves — particularly to the United States, which acquired the largest number. African political agitators can be expected to take advantage of this. Attention will continue to be focused on the treatment of people of African decent now living in the United States.

What happens in race relationships in local communities in the United States will affect our international relationships with not only African nations but also Asian and Latin American nations. Advocates of "gradualism" for changes in race relations should ponder the implications of this factor for the future position and influence of the United States in world affairs.

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World Publicity for American Race Relations

World-wide publicity has been given to the recent decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court which have focused attention on the constitutional rights for equal opportunities for education, travel in interstate commerce, and for voting. This gained popular appreciation for the United States overseas.

It has been widely reported around the world, however, that there is considerable resistance against integration of education in the Southern states. It is also well known that the most comfortable suburbs in most Northern communities in this country are highly restricted against the admission of Negroes in the opportunity for housing.

The lag in the implementation of U. S. constitutional rights in race relations which have been advertised widely around the world, leaves the U. S. vulnerable to mounting criticism.

Whenever a racial incident occurs in the United States, it gets front-page reporting in newspapers around the world. Consider the impact on newspaper readers throughout the world on March 16, 1960, when a radio photo showed a wire fence stockade in Orangeburg, South Carolina, with some three hundred students who had been drenched with firehoses, exposed to tear-gas and were arrested while marching in a demonstration against racial discrimination.

Sit-In Demonstrations this year have been getting wide publicity overseas. They have dramatized the problem of U. S. race relationships. U. S. prestige and U. S. influence for freedom has suffered severely as pictures and articles have revealed to the world how far we have to go to eliminate racial discrimination in all walks of life.

Progress in race relations is evident in most U. S. communities. But world public demands for eliminating racial discrimination are increasing faster. The evaluation of progress in race relations in the U. S. should be made not only in terms of absolute numbers of improvements, but should also take into consideration the increased world sensitivity and demands. In spite of improvements known to us, many world observers consider the U. S. racial situation more critical than in any other period of our history, because of its impact on our relationships with other peoples.

"Open Societies" is a term which is being used these days by many political leaders to distinguish the non-communist countries from the so-called "iron curtain" or "closed societies." It is a term which is considered more acceptable by some than "western" or "capitalist" countries.

In the eyes of the world's peoples who are struggling for the elimination of race discrimination in all aspects of life,

any claim for an "open society" will be questioned if people of color find any opportunities closed to them on the basis of their color. To them "open societies" will mean any society — communist or non-communist — Christian or non-Christian — which is open to them without racial discrimination.

Those in the United States who use the term "open societies" should become aware that its use will not always be considered applicable to the United States until all forms of racial discrimination are eliminated in all parts of the country.

"Diplomats Meet Color Bias Here" was the heading of a report published June 6, 1960 in the New York Times. Dr. Alfred J. Marrow, Chairman of the New York City Commission on Inter-group Relations, reported that some non-white delegates to the United Nations had recently complained of discrimination in restaurants in New York.

A report of a pilot study of restaurants found this to be true in a small minority of eating places. But such discrimination, when found to exist, has led to international repercussions. Further studies are being made for public attention to the international implications of discrimination here.

Because of the new African and Asian nations which are expected to be members of the United Nations in the near future, and who are expected to have diplomatic status in the United States, it is expected that the number of non-white delegates and visitors will increase significantly.

Racial discrimination in New York or in the United States in general impairs U. S. international relations.

U. S. immigration quotas appear rigged against non-white peoples of the world. When approximately seventy percent of the world's people are given less than five percent of U. S. immigration quotas, this causes serious resentment.

The history of the resentment in Japan against the so-called "Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924" in the U. S. has been considered one of the factors leading to Japan's participation in war against the U. S.

Reports of some of the slogans in the recent Japanese demonstrations against the U. S. included reference to racial restriction policies of the U. S. These immigration quota discrimination policies are resented in other countries of Asia. As population pressure increases in Asia, this resentment can be expected to increase until the U. S. finds a more equitable formula which will not appear rigged against non-whites.

As the number of African nations increases, and as they develop more newspapers and other communications, political agitators can be expected to focus more criticism against the present U. S. immigration restrictions which are interpreted as racial discrimination.

These conditions call for increased public understanding in the U. S. about the need for revising U. S. immigration policies as soon as possible, if our international relationships with Africa and Asia are not to suffer further impairment.

(The Department of International Affairs of the National Council of Churches has published a report on this subject, "As We Do Unto Others", by Charles H. Seaver. It is available from the Publication and Distribution Department, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y. at 30¢.)

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South Africa

Much has been written about the recent riots and casualties in South Africa, and about the arrest and detainment of some 1,650 African, Indian, Coloured, and White leaders under national emergency provisions. The value of South African stocks on the market dropped about one billion dollars. There is a serious uneasiness about the future there.

The colour bar which restricts Africans from skilled work and higher income positions is provided for protection of the white workers, and is deeply resented by Africans.

White people in South Africa are out-numbered four-to-one by the non-whites, and they are fearful of the reprisals which might be taken against them if the Africans are given an effective franchise to vote.

Apartheid is the name of the policy of South Africa for eventual division of European and non-European areas throughout the country with the understanding that Europeans would maintain full control permanently in the so-called European areas, and that the Bantu (Africans) would be able to have more control over their own development in the Bantu areas.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. D. C. de Wet Nel said recently that he was convinced that South Africa's policy of apartheid would yet serve as a model to the world for the establishment of good race relations.

The problem is that Europeans are dividing the area so that they will have some eighty-five percent of the land, leaving less than fifteen percent for the eighty percent of the population. The European areas also include all of the mining, industrial development, strategic transportation, and the important farm areas, leaving Africans with over-crowded and underdeveloped reserves. So the Africans are not satisfied with that kind of division.

Alan Paton says, in speaking of South Africa and its apartheid policy, "I do not believe that this racial separation will ever be achieved. These reserves have no ports, no mineral resources of any consequence. . . . millions of African people will still be compelled to seek their living in the white areas, and there they will be forever regarded as temporary sojourners, with no civic rights, exposed to the danger that at any minute, they might be forcibly returned to the reserves . . . because they just thought, that the entire scheme of separation was a fraud and a deception." (*The Christian Approach to Racial Problems in the Modern World*, Christian Action, 2 Amen Court, London, E.C. 4, 1960, 8 pp., 1 sh.)

It is to the credit of the U. S. that U. S. votes at the U. N. this past year were for the first time lined up against South Africa, in the overwhelming U. N. vote criticizing South Africa's apartheid policy as a threat to peace. Secretary of State Herter also expressed U. S. criticism against the recent South African police action when African demonstrators were killed.

Alan Paton, has recently made the following comments: "There is one hope, and one hope only, for the future of the white people of South Africa, and especially for the Afrikaner, and that is to come to some kind of terms with the other thirteen million; . . . to renounce the evil laws that result in violence and death, to forswear apartheid. . . .

"If he cannot change, if he cannot become a true man of Africa, then there cannot be any orderly solution of our problems. One thing is certain: he won't change just by persuasion, or out of the goodness of his heart. He will change only when the pressure inside and outside the country becomes unendurable. . . .

"In that event, only the intervention of the outside world can save us from starvation, chaos, and death. Of nations, it is Britain that has the greatest responsibility, for out of her magnanimity she set us on the road to disaster, and gave us a Constitution that allowed our rulers to do what they liked with our liberties. Of authorities, it is the United Nations that may need to come to our aid, and to give support to those who are concerned with building a nation and not with racial revenge.

". . . what he needs to bring him out of the pipe dream is a decisive order from the outside world.

"It must be an order to bring to an end the second greatest Christian apostasy of the twentieth century, or to take the consequences.

"Many of us pray that such an order will soon be heard."

Nearly all African nationalist leaders elsewhere in the continent of Africa have identified their sympathy and support for the struggle for freedom in South Africa. As the new nations of Africa acquire the means of independent and collective action, and as they exert a stronger influence in the United Nations, more pressure can be expected on South Africa.

Reports are being made about the efforts for organizing an economic boycott against South African goods. This is already being done by some areas in Africa and by some public groups in Europe and Asia. The world will watch to see whether political changes in South Africa will come by non-violent or by violent means.

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Strife in the Congo

Within the first few days of freedom for the Republic of Congo, it had been reported that some Africans had already begun to take reprisals against white people. The world is watching anxiously for how severe this trend becomes. Will

this become the pattern for other areas of Central and Southern Africa?

African history has included much that has led to the storing-up of hatred and bitterness against white people. White people have brought many advantages with colonial development. But Africans have felt subjugated and depressed in areas where special privileges were reserved for white people.

How far will the pendulum of African reprisals swing? What effect will this have on the development of these new areas? What effect will this have on the future of Christian churches and institutions in Africa? What can outsiders do to relieve the suffering and heal the wounds of bitterness? How will these conditions effect international relations and the future peace of the world?

The United Nations has been asked to provide many kinds of help for the people of the new nation. Dr. Ralph J. Bunche has been sent as the Special Representative in the Congo for the U.N. Secretary General.

Few African Congolese had been prepared for leadership in political administration, police control and other responsibilities of national development. These posts in the past had been filled by white people, many of whom apparently were unaware of the dissatisfaction felt by Africans.

Immediately following independence, many Africans refused to follow orders given to them by Belgian officials who were remaining during the transition. This led to a break-down of law enforcement, transportation, communications and other important elements of the economy.

The Congo Premier and President made desperate efforts to organize what limited leadership was available and called for help from the United Nations and from individual countries. Meanwhile, the African Premier of the Katanga Province (where most of the Congo mineral wealth exists) together with other political leaders in that area proclaimed independence from the Congo, and asked Belgian officials to remain to assist in the administration of the Katanga. Neighboring Kivu and Kasai Provinces were reported to have expressed a desire to join Katanga in a federation. The Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland had been reported to hint that Katanga might join his country.

The Congo has now become a setting for what could be a serious civil war, with the possibility of international intervention.

The United Nations representatives are committed to help the Republic of Congo, which they are doing with the mobilization of military police, technical advisors, emergency food, health, supplies and communication equipment for the maintenance of order. But the United Nations units, as reported by the Secretary General, "must not become parties in internal conflicts, that they cannot be used to enforce any specific political solution of pending problems or to influence the political balance decisive to such a solution."

In the meantime, the Republic of Congo has requested all Belgian officials to leave, and has asked the U.N. and friendly countries to help the Congo see that the Belgians leave.

The United Nations recruitment of personnel for the Congo has been relying chiefly on Africans from other independent countries on the continent, but is also including some personnel from Asia, North and South America and Europe.

Extensive transportation arrangements have been organized for the evacuation of white people who wish to leave. It is reported that many hope to remain or return as soon as order can be achieved. The exodus of missionaries and business families has attracted world-wide concern. What will become of their institutions and properties? What will happen to those white people who remain? Under what circumstances will the refugees be able to return? What effect will these events have on relationships in other parts of Africa?

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The Future of Christianity in Africa

One recent report from a group of Christians in South Africa, bears the title: "Africans Turn Against Christianity — Regard it as White Man's Religion!"

Christianity has been brought to most of Africa by white people, and this corresponded with the era of colonialism and white control. Now that Africans are gaining political control in most areas of the continent, the world will be watching what happens to Christianity.

Alan Paton says, in *The Christian Approach to Racial Problems in the Modern World*, "It is sometimes said that Islam and Communism are the great enemies of Christianity in Africa. That is not true; the great enemy of Christianity in Africa is the pseudo-Christianity that can find a dozen reasons, some of them theological, why the colour bar should be maintained, the pseudo-Christianity that is so contemptuous of idealism, that calls love sentimentality, that calls Christ Lord, Lord, and is so cold to His humbler disciples. . . . There is no place for a colour bar in the Christian Church."

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Future International Political Orientation of the New African Nations

It can be expected that most of the new African nations will follow the so-called neutralist trend of India, United Arab Republic, and Ghana. This is illustrated by the recent public statement of the new Premier of the Republic of Congo, Mr. Patrice Lumumba: "We want to maintain friendly relations with all nations and we will join neither of the two blocs now dividing the world. In international relations we will always fight for freedom."

The (Communist) People's Republic of China has been cultivating the friendship of African nationalist leaders. Chinese assistance has been offered Algeria in their war against the French. African votes thus far in the United Nations have indicated favor of receiving Communist China in the United Nations. It is estimated by some observers that the new nations of Africa will soon tip the balance of United Nations votes in favor of Communist China membership. The new President of the Republic of Congo, Mr. Joseph Kasavubu, is a Chinese descendent, and the (Communist) People's Republic of China was the first country to recognize the new Republic of Congo.

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Examples of Situations which are Questioned by Observers in U. S.

1. U. S. interests in helping refugees from overseas: Many prominent community and church leaders have been known to take an interest in refugees from overseas. Efforts are made to see that refugees are provided with housing and employment, and to see that they are made welcome in the community. Then, if these same community and church leaders are not known to be at least equally concerned in assisting and welcoming Negro newcomers, this leads to resentment among those who feel and observe the discrepancy.

2. Foreign economic aid: When efforts are made to mobilize U. S. support for assisting economic development of strategic underdeveloped areas overseas, it is well to consider how such concern is viewed by those in the United States who believe they are in need. The answer is not to stop foreign aid but to recognize the importance to give attention at the same time to assisting people in this country who feel that their needs are not being adequately cared for.

3. Advocacy of freedom and justice: It is widely known that the United States through government, business, religious, and other agencies and through private tourists abroad, tries to advocate the importance of freedom and justice. Both foreign observers as well as victims of racial discrimination in the United States are sensitive about the lag of applying these principles as widely as possible in this country. One letter published in a Cleveland newspaper illustrates this by saying,

"We spend millions of dollars preaching justice to the peoples of the world while letting it be destroyed here in America. The Civil Rights bill is an example of just how weak we really are. Through the years we Negroes have grown accustomed to the hypocrisy of our legislators. The backing of the Supreme Court's ruling on integration is pathetic. The world watches. The darker races of this world know that the white man's rule does not include them. Is it any wonder Russia, seeing these things, and taking advantage of our stupidity, is fast winning over these nations? We have made progress in many things, but we are failing to recognize the rights of man."

4. Finding people to blame for bad U. S. world public relations: When U. S. overseas activities and programs do not prove wholly successful in creating goodwill for the U. S., two general tendencies are observed: (1) Overseas local political extremists are frequently blamed for distortion of

U. S. efforts and intentions; and (2) U. S. overseas personnel are frequently blamed for so-called tactlessness, inefficiency and mismanagement.

Special emphasis is being placed on the training and orientation of U. S. overseas personnel for counteracting unfavorable publicity and for better administration of U. S. projects abroad.

Harlan Cleveland, in his recent book, *Overseas Americans* (published June, 1960), says: "No matter how effective the individual performances of Americans may be in overseas work, their success will be deeply affected by the foreign and domestic policies chosen by the United States while they are abroad."

This would support the contention that U. S. overseas relationships are affected significantly by policies made and relationships practiced in the United States.

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The Soviet Challenge

Douglas Dillon, Under Secretary of State, in *Foreign Policy Briefs*, June 24, 1960, was reported as saying:

"The times clearly call for strenuous efforts to maintain and reinforce our international economic position if we are to successfully meet the two major challenges which confront us today.

"The first is the worldwide offensive mounted by the Soviet Union against our system of free institutions.

"The second is the desperate struggle of more than a billion people in the free world's newly developing areas to escape their traditional poverty, sickness, and illiteracy and to achieve dignity, independence, and material progress within a framework of meaningful freedom.

"These two challenges are closely intertwined. For the Communist leaders are making a major effort, supported by a high rate of economic growth in the Soviet Union, to persuade the peoples of the newly developing areas that their best hope of achieving progress is by taking the Communist path."

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A Race to Help People

The United States has been challenged in a race to help people get what they want — the economic means for meeting basic needs — food, clothing, shelter, health services, education and welfare, and the social needs for feeling that they are not discriminated against because of their racial or ethnic background. The Soviet Union has challenged us in a race to share our scientific achievements, patents, and technologies with the underdeveloped areas — Asia, Africa and Latin America — to help them raise their level of living.

The channeling of international energies into a race to help others and to show respect for peoples of all races can be constructive in a world of much poverty and with a heritage of considerable race discrimination. A race to help people is much preferable to destructive warfare.

For What Motives? Are special efforts to mobilize help for others and to work for ending colonialism and racial discrimination to be done mainly to "beat someone else in a race?" Who will be given the credit for anything good done with only that motivation? What are the obligations of Christians?

Chester Bowles made the following statement, reported in *N. Y. Times*, January 17, 1960: "The primary reason to bring

an end to racial discrimination in America is not the Communist challenge. Nor is it our need to make friends and influence people abroad. The primary reason purely and simply is because racial discrimination is wrong. Racial discrimination is a moral cancer within our society. It ought to be uprooted quite apart from our desire to establish friendly ties with the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America. . . .

"If we are to ease the racial conflict which so dangerously divides America in a world that is two-thirds colored, we must come to see it as a moral issue and not simply as a legal one. It is an issue involving no more and no less than the dignity of man."

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Some Recent Publications

The Chinese in the United States of America by Rose Hum Lee. Fairlawn, New Jersey: Hong Kong University Press c/o Oxford University Press, \$7.25.

The Civil Rights Story — Year's Review by Theodore Leskes. Reprint from *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 61, 1960, National Labor Service, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56th St., New York 22, N. Y., 15c.

The Commission on Race and Housing Series. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960, \$6.00 each:

Privately Developed Interracial Housing: An Analysis of Experience by Eunice and George Grier.

Property Values and Race: Studies in Seven Cities by Luigi Laurenti.

Studies in Housing and Minority Groups edited by Nathan Glazer and Davis McEntire.

Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation: A Report by Psychiatrists. Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 104 East 25th St., New York 10, N. Y., 50c.

Intergroup Relations in Religious Textbooks. Reprint from *Religious Education*, The American Jewish Committee, Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56th St., New York 22, N. Y., 25c.

The Magnolia Jungle: The Life, Times and Education of a Southern Editor by P. D. East. New York: George McKibben and Son, 1960, \$3.95.

Prejudice and the Child: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography of Research Evaluations and General Readings. The American Jewish Committee, Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56th St., New York 22, N. Y., (mimeographed).

San Francisco's Housing Market — Open or Closed? Council for Civic Unity, 437 Market Street, San Francisco 5, California, 35c.

School Desegregation for the first six years. Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, 1960.

Southern Tradition and Regional Progress by William H. Nicholls. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960, \$5.00.

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